March 1955

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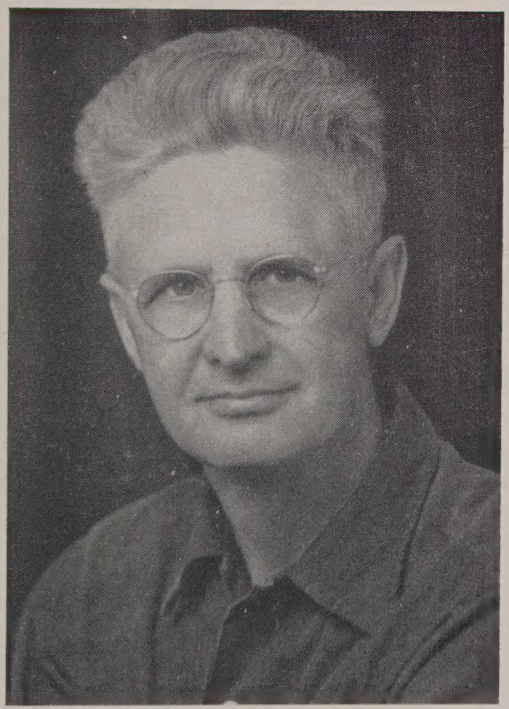
Fellowship



FLOYD SCHMOE *Homebuilder*

30¢ **Universal—Compulsory—Permanent** *by John M. Swomley, Jr.*

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FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

The WORLD in FOCUS

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Beginning

The opening weeks of the New Year were filled with jolly surprises for Americans, not to mention a couple of billion of their neighbors. The Atomic Energy Commisison announced that its nuclear researchers had come up with the possibility of stockings that will not wear out, potatoes that may be kept on a shelf without spoiling for two or more years, and a super-super bomb equivalent to 60 million tons of TNT (the old super-bomb, or "city-killer," was a mere 20-million ton job); General (Old-Soldiers-Never-Fade) MacArthur told an American Legion banquet that the time has come to give up war completely; Bertrand (Lord) Russell opined that if we *don't* give up war right away the human race might well disappear before another New Year's Day; and the President and Congress resolved with straight faces that the United States' natural line of defense runs plunk through some islands five miles off the coast of China. All in all, quite a beginning for a New Year!

End

Probably no one really believed that just because they had built a bomb big enough to "kill the world's biggest city," the military's scientists would stop. The temptation to "try just

one more" apparently is irresistible to scientists as well as alcoholics, even though in this case there is no target worthy of the weapon. Except, of course, as Lord Russell suggested, the race itself!

The announcement of the hosiery and potatoes as a couple of peacetime uses of atomic energy is in character, too. It is doubtful if our civilization could have a more appropriate epitaph than the silent stacks of indestructible stockings, forever unwearable; the shelves of potatoes irradiated safely for the housewife who was not so fortunate herself!

Favorite Pacifist Dilemmas

"But aren't all men really brutes?"

Hope

It would be harder to make such grim comments as those above if there were not some signs of hope apparent, too. For this department, the most exciting of these was the mounting evidence that official Washington was becoming impressed by the public support for the FOR-sponsored "Surplus Food for China" campaign.

First evidence of this was the increasingly rarefied heights from which came replies to queries about the campaign, culminating in an Assistant Secretary of State. Then, late in January, each listed sponsor of the campaign received a personally signed letter from FOA Director Harold Stassen, "explaining" why the proposal to send surplus food was "impossible."[1] Finally, early in February, came the discovery that the FOA was sending excerpts from the Stassen letter to everyone who had written to the President about the food. The letter included an apology for sending a mimeographed letter, with the explanation that the "thousands of letters on this subject" had made it necessary!

Even if not a single ton of our stored-up surpluses gets to the hungry Chinese, men of good will may rejoice that so many Americans have responded to the proposal that they send help, rather than bombs, to the distressed people of an "enemy" nation. And if the food could actually be offered—as a leading commentator said, the effect on the whole world could be electrifying! Let's not give up yet!

Five-Star

Gen. Douglas MacArthur is something of a political anomaly, alternately expressing an enlightened, democratic point of view, and embracing, and being embraced by, a collection of the most extreme nationalists. No one seems seriously disposed to argue his place in history as a masterly general, however, or as one who knows war intimately and well. His remarkable comments about war at an American Legion

1 Copies of the FOR's letter to sponsors in reply to the Stassen "five points" are available free on request.

banquet in Los Angeles January 27, therefore, deserve some attention, even though they fall short at some critical points of what a pacifist would feel are the logical conclusions to be drawn. Here are some quotes:

"At the turn of the century, when I entered the Army, the target was one enemy casualty at the end of a rifle or bayonet or sword. . . . Now electronics and other processes of science have raised the destructive potential to encompass millions. And with restless hands we work feverishly in dark laboratories to find the means to destroy all at one blow.

"But this very triumph of scientific annihilation—this very success of invention—has destroyed the possibility of war being a medium of practical settlement of international differences."

"If you lose, you are annihilated. If you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess the chance of the winner of a duel —it contains rather the germs of double suicide. . . . The great question is—does this mean that war can now be outlawed from the world? If so, it would mark the greatest advance in civilization since the Sermon on the Mount."

"The present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalistic countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike. Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion."

". . . The great criticism we can make of the world's leaders is their lack of a plan which will enable us to go on. All they propose merely gravitates around but dares not face the real problem. They increase preparedness by alliances, by distributing resources throughout the world, by feverish activity in developing new and deadlier weapons, by applying conscription in time of peace—all of which is instantly matched by the prospective opponent. We are told that this increases the chances of peace—which is doubtful—and increases the chances of victory if war comes—which would be incontestable if the other side did not increase in like proportion. Actually, the truth is that the relative strengths of the two change little with the years. Action by one is promptly matched by reaction from the other.

"We must break out of this strait-jacket of the past. There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world. The effect would be magical."

HOUSES FOR THE HOMELESS

A Pacifist Takes Friendship and Understanding into war-devastated areas.

by Eleanor Middleton

THEY ARE CALLED "Houses for Korea," these simple buildings that are replacing the mud huts near Kumyangjang-ni, Kyongi-do, Korea—but they are more than that. To Floyd Schmoe, who organized the project two years ago, they are gestures of friendship as old as the Orient. Built because of the political exigencies of our time, they stand as a dedication to the classic feeling of the importance of personal relationships. How does one define such a quality? To discover and taste the workings of his idea, one would have to visit the area himself.

Thirty-eight villages lie in the same general valley, called by name, Yongin (The Valley of the Contented Dragon). But that isn't what links them together, nor that they all happen to grow rice and winter wheat and stand only a few miles from the mountains. They were all almost totally destroyed by war and now, even today, after two years of peace, iris leaves curve lonesomely around the foxholes, and you can watch the children, their eyes smarting from the cold—and the women, stoop shouldered and short of breath.

To get hold of this idea, we have

to start with a view of the valley in 1953 when Floyd and Ruth Schmoe first made their survey of its villages and surrounding areas. Out of 15,000 people, 4,000 were homeless refugees, some unable to return to ancestral homes captured by the Communists. Most of the people were very poor. Many were fearfully sick. Babies died of dysentery. Wells were polluted. There were no baths. Families huddled together in makeshift mud huts and others—the outcasts, the orphans, the lepers—crowded under bridges and caves. About 75 per cent of the houses had been burned in the war.

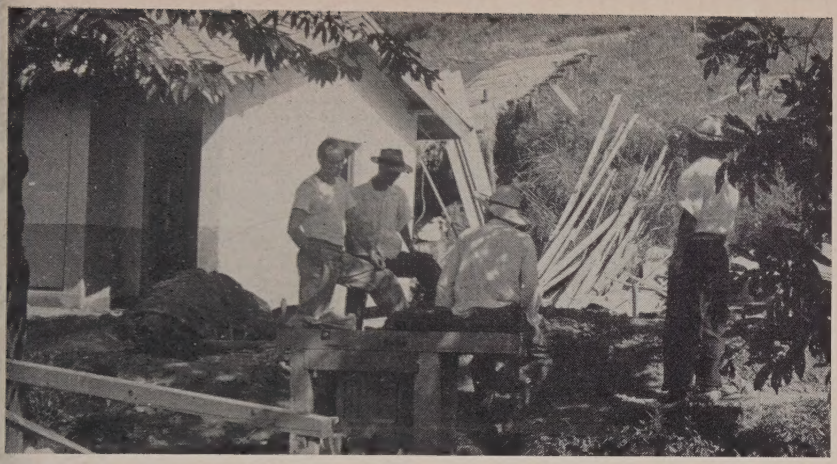
Venturing forth into such an area, anyone else might have hesitated. How would the Koreans accept this intrusion by a foreigner, an American? How did one really know their fears, cope with their suspicions? More important, where did one get the money to change mud to bricks, hay to tile, "spin straw into gold?"

The answer lies in Floyd Schmoe himself and in his past. For Floyd Schmoe is a man with a desire—a rather familiar one: to build a lasting peace. But unlike those of us who give ambiguous lip service to human values, Floyd Schmoe has had this single-purposed ambition since he left Friends University in Wichita. The vital beginning took place in 1919 when he worked in Europe on relief projects for the American Friends Service Committee. As an FOR Secretary, Schmoe was sent to Hawaii to study Japanese-American relations in anticipation of shadowing wartime problems. He was therefore fully prepared at the onslaught of World War II to help Japanese-Americans relocate, find new homes, new jobs. And in 1948, after the full force of the atomic war rumbled around the world, he set out again, this time to Japan to help the survivors rebuild. Thus began the "Houses for Hiroshima" program.

This could have been a difficult time for Floyd Schmoe for he worked in Japan without compensation. But always single-minded, he made the project work. At Hiroshima, he won not the window dressing of friendship, nor a souvenir of a conquered people's appreciation, but the effortless and unobtrusive gratitude of the Japanese. The Emperor and the Crown Prince thanked him personally for his contribution to dignity and

The Author

Who is Floyd Schmoe of Houses for Hiroshima and Houses for Korea? He is a former FOR Secretary, a skilled builder and forestry expert, a teacher, a husband and father, and a humanitarian in a divided land. Immersed in the problems peculiar to the 20th Century, he and his wife have used their ideas, their talents, and their trust in other human beings to build a world that is warm and bright.



HUDDLE. Members of the Schmoe team discuss a new problem. Note the tile roof of the concrete house.

humanity. Then, seeing his plans flourish, Floyd Schmoe decided to carry his project further, to another world, to Korea.

The setting of this stage brought forth some old hands. To help the Schmoes gauge their inventory of "needs," three students and a sociology professor from Seoul University pitched in. The Mennonite Central Committee, operating a project in Taegu, loaned them four men and a jeep. The United Nations Korean Rehabilitation Agency provided visual aid equipment, a generator, looms, lab materials, and a truck. The ROK government and the U.S. Army donated medicines and building materials. MCC and AFSC gave clothing; Unicef contributed powdered milk. When the Korean government donated (on indefinite loan) a "Landcrete" machine which manufactured concrete blocks, construction pushed forward.

Gradually, almost imperceptibly, with technical skill and endless patience, these rudimentary beginnings began to transform the life in the valley. The people came to accept the quiet informality with which this foreigner fitted into their long established patterns of living. They watched him visit their Buddhist temples, lecture a high school forestry club on the care of trees, drive a jeep over rugged terrain to supervise the hauling of light poles 14 miles out of the mountains for the local high school. His wife they referred to as "Mama San Number One." It is an affectionate title meaning the best. They recognized her compassion when she helped set up a sewing room in the camp and taught some of the refugee women to weave. They were not surprised when she walked a mile every day to a nearby refugee camp to supervise the making of hot milk to

feed 100 children. And very often, someone would succumb to a desire to ask her to pronounce a word listed in an English-Korean dictionary. The Schmoes' world was concerned with these rare combinations of wearing the heart and mind on one sleeve. And in spite of the language barrier it was contagious. In time, the people even learned to relax. The following excerpt is taken from one of Floyd Schmoe's letters dated June 20, 1954. . . .

"Today the carpenters raise the ridge pole of the new house. They planed it very carefully, painted it white and have painted a dragon on one end and a turtle on the other. In between is something in Chinese characters. I have not had it translated yet. They hang a couple of dried fish, some paper decorations, etc. to it. They bow and drink saki before putting it up. We have substituted coffee for the saki but they don't seem to like the idea very well. I suspect the entire ceremony is for the saki. . . ."

Impact Visible

By the end of the summer, the impact of the team's innovations was strongly visible. The team had repaired the streets, dug and clorinated wells, built a bath house for the local camp of 300 North Korean refugees, set up two milk feeding stations, improved sanitary facilities. With the backing of village elders and high school students, the market area was drained and surfaced with cinder and sand. A beginning has been made in building some understanding of modern medicine and of elementary health practices among the people. The local doctor who served 15,000 villagers, was serviced with transportation, drugs, medical books, lab service, and nursing aid. A free clinic, still a phenomenon in Asia, opened its doors to 100 patients each day. Visiting village nurse service was instituted.

Problems arose which tapped the ingenuity and inventiveness of the team. One of the most elemental was to find a more efficient means of harvesting rice and wheat. The farmers used a hand sickle, cut the ripe grain one handful at a time, and lugged it away to have it threshed on the ground with flails. The American movies donated by the USIS and the American Embassy proved of little help; although they did demonstrate the enigmatic fascination of another world which the Koreans had never seen. But Schmoe knew that the magic of the grinding wheels of tractors and combines rolling across the American plain meant as much to the tiny land patches in Korea as picture bonnets at Easter. The farmers needed something more useful. The solution was the introduction of an old fashioned cradle made from an oak log and truck spring. It cost $7.50. Since then the team have devised, among other equipment, a corn, bean, pea planting machine and a long handled hoe.

Today, Houses for Korea begins its second year. Floyd Schmoe has a good deal to look back on and the future, as of now, seems assured. Already construction is underway for ten to fifteen homes for the most needy working widows with families. Experiments raise hopes that cotton can be produced adequately to add spinning to the village industry. Plans to build a library and youth center have become a reality. A forest tree nurs-

ery has mushroomed thanks to seed sent by the U.S. Forest Service. Enough money has been donated to maintain a full working team on a year-round basis.

Still Many Difficulties

But it would be a mistake to think that there are no longer many difficulties, many frustrations and possibly many fears. The "maintainance" of Houses for Korea continues to be monumental. Construction of a livable two room house costs $250.00. There is the demand for the $2,500 station wagon or truck the team can't afford. The milk stations must be replenished. Chalked up against the exhaustive statistics, the odds are extremely heavy. Estimates show that it will take Korea a generation to recover from the war. There is no subsidy for Houses for Korea. UNKRA helps with the work, but most of the funds must be solicited from the American people. And one cannot measure how much is needed in terms of material aid. For always there are those in the villages who need more than food, those psychologically disorientated from life, those left behind somehow during the adjustment period—the ones who have too much pathos and privation to be touched by the buzzing saws, the bright concrete blocks, the gleaming tile roofs, shining like alabaster. And many of these are children.

"What do you do with these kids?" asks Floyd Schmoe. "Kids can be had just for the asking and no one ever asks what becomes of them." A case in point was that of Lee Chung Chi, or Red Pants, as he was called by the Americans.

Chung Chi appeared quietly one day at the team's headquarters. Small, even for his six years, he was ragged and dirty, but his face betrayed more than poverty. Caught by an impossible set of circumstances, it was a mask of the loneliness of uneasy hours. Ruth Schmoe outfitted him with new red trousers, a tee shirt and a jacket picked from clothing donated by the American Friends Service Committee, but the boy remained somber and preoccupied, giving no acknowledgment of the gift, no sign of appreciation. Carefully he bundled his old clothes together, swung them over his shoulder, and trudged home. He returned the following day, his eyes still showing the intensity of preoccupation reserved usually for the old. He wore his new pants, but the shirt and jacket were missing. Sensing the pains to which his incomplete life

There's no lull at the free clinic. One doctor serves 15,000 *people.*

had brought him, the Schmoes decided to investigate.

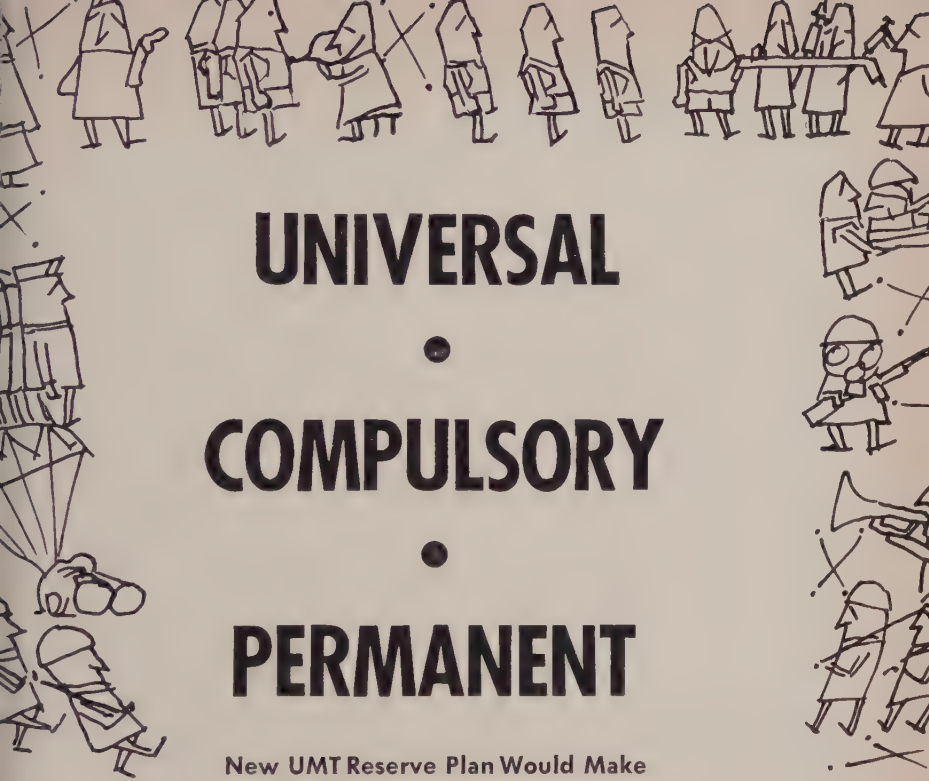
They discovered that their small visitor and his two older brothers, aged 12 and 9, were orphans. They lived alone in a 6′ x 6′ shack. Yet they had survived the Korean winters without heat, furniture, or blankets. The oldest boy was a cripple and could only crawl about on his hands and feet. Chung Chi had shared his gifts with his family, keeping only the trousers for himself.

Word has since reached the Schmoes that the team has built the boys an 8′ x 8′ room near the shack. Although it cost only $75.00, it was built from pressed earth blocks and plaster and will last a century. But more important, there has been a significant happening in Chung Chi's life. There, at the work site, he found fascination in riding in an American jeep. For the first time, the boy smiled. He may yet rediscover his lost childhood.

Concrete blocks are often carried "piggy-back" many miles to the homesite

Floyd Schmoe has been touring the West Coast with slides and pictures of his Korean project. What are his thoughts now as he thinks of Yongin, of the possibility that the valley may again be subjugated to war, that there still may not be enough money to make the project succeed—even with a more than precarious toehold on peace? A key may be found in a letter in which Schmoes writes: "Work, as the Prophet says, is 'love made manifest,' and the love being made manifest by hundreds of concerned people in America through us in the field and the appreciation and affection showered upon us by the Korean people with whom we work is something else again. In the long reach of time and affairs it may well be much more important than the visible evidences of our work."

One senses therefore that his thoughts will be only a mirror of previous experience, that they may circle again and again, but will come back to the same place. For the impression remains that here is a man with the ability to help people without changing their ethos. His is not the usual American success story. It is a more complete, more admirable, if a more lonely thing, this grasp of the intangibles of inner faith which illuminate man's love for man.



UNIVERSAL • COMPULSORY • PERMANENT

New UMT Reserve Plan Would Make Peacetime Conscription Part of the Pattern of American Life

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

A NEW CONSCRIPTION proposal was presented to Congress on January 13, 1955 by President Eisenhower. This proposal, which has a number of new features, is nevertheless similar in many respects to Pentagon proposals made repeatedly since 1944. These proposals, variously entitled Compulsory Military Training, Universal Military Training, National Security Training, and Peacetime Conscription, have again and again been killed by committee action or rejected by Congress itself.

Postwar Selective Service proposals, except for a period in 1947 and 1948, have been accepted because of a real war, viz. Korea in 1950 or a trumped-up "emergency," viz. 1948 when Army Intelligence prepared a false report

to the effect that Russian troops were on the move in Europe. This false report was exposed by the Hoover Commission in December, 1948, more than five months after the passage of Selective Service. In addition to this, charges were made on the floor of the House on June 15, 1948 by one of the senior members of the House Armed Services Committee, that the Army had deliberately sabotaged recruiting to emphasize the need for a draft law.

The draft law which was finally passed in 1948 by a vote in the House of 259 to 136, provided for 21 months' service, and a two-year expiration date. It was passed in the context of an Army manpower ceiling of 837,000 men. The Army continued to rely on volunteers after the draft law was passed, partly because of the international situation and partly because the conscription law did not give the Army the two-year term of service and other provisions it had requested. The 1950 law which is now expiring, was used to raise troops for the Korean war.

The present proposal which is being advanced by the Pentagon at the very moment Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson is expressing confidence about the absence of war or major war emergency on the international scene is therefore designed as a peacetime conscription program. The President, in his message presenting the proposal, admitted that "never in peacetime have we achieved" the large "military posture" envisioned by this proposal.

In a very real sense, Congress and the American people are now confronted with the kind of peacetime programs that became the permanent pattern of European conscription from which our fathers and grandfathers fled and which we have regarded as alien both to peace and freedom.

The unpopularity of previous U.M.T. proposals have resulted in a new name being given to this one. But the *New York Times* military writer, Hanson Baldwin, says: "It is really universal military training and service by another name." It is aimed not only at putting every able-bodied boy between 18½ and 25 into the armed forces for two years and the Reserves for 6 years, but it is intended to be permanent, despite the four-year expiration date. When Eisenhower on December 15 stated he would submit such a program to Congress he spoke of it in terms of a fifty-year need.

Compulsory Program

It is a thoroughly compulsory program. The only voluntary aspect to the proposal is that boys may volunteer to avoid being drafted. Even those who are permitted to volunteer for six months basic training followed by 9½ years in the Reserves, would be drafted for 2 years if they don't volunteer. Moreover, if not enough volunteer for the 6-months-plus program, the Selective Service system would draft boys for it.

The program is an attempt to combine three basically incompatible types of conscription into one system. The six-month training program followed by 9½ years in the National Guard or Reserves, is essentially a militia program, like the Swiss system, and was put into the proposal as a result of political pressure from Reservists,

veterans, and other pro-U.M.T. groups.

The second type, Universal Training and Service, was developed by Napoleon and perfected by Prussia in a day when industry, not yet a real factor in war, was subordinated to reliance on masses of men. Tradition-bound American generals, admiring German methods and having a vested interest in size, have for years wanted universal conscription. They cannot however disregard industry, and must therefore rely on the third type of conscription, Selective Service, to defer engineers, scientists and workers essential to industry and agriculture.

A Hybrid Proposal

Thus Congress is confronted with a hybrid proposal which would draft everyone even though only a portion of those who do their peacetime stretch in the Army would ever be called on in the event of war or emergency. During World War II about 40% of American men of draft age were deferred, and according to a statement by General Hershey, about 50% were being deferred during the Korean War.

After their military training and service, the conscripts would be placed in a ready reserve, and after a period of years "graduate" into a selectively callable reserve. A system within the Pentagon, duplicating the present Selective Service system, would operate to weed out of the ready reserve all those whom *the military* (not civilian local boards) consider essential to industry, health, etc. These would be placed in the selectively callable reserve.

The Ready Reserve

Theoretically the ready reserve of about 3 million are intended to be ready for any war as soon as called up. Actually they would have to be physically reconditioned, given modern equipment, and given training with the units with whom they would have to fight. Beyond this they would have to be trained for the particular war. Men trained in general cannot fight without further preparation if the war is tropical, or arctic, in nature, or otherwise drastically different from their general training. In this sense the argument that previous training is helpful to the military, must be taken with a large grain of salt.

The real value to the military of a huge reserve is also, from a civilian and peace point of view, one of the major arguments against it. Under the pending proposal, the President could, without consulting Congress, call up three million ready reservists to add to an army of one million. In this connection, it should be noted that the Army Chief of Staff General Ridgeway objected to entering the war in Indo-China because he felt he didn't have a large enough army at his disposal for such a distant military adventure. His objection was one of the several factors which ultimately prevented our involvement.

Army On Call

If the pending proposal is adopted, there would be a large enough army on call to reassure those who otherwise might hesitate to engage in military adventuring throughout the world.

Modern technology has made conscription unnecessary for successful military combat. It is even a liability to use huge armies in atomic warfare. Conscription is, however, necessary to create the national mind and mood upon which a tremendous war system depends. It is, as General Jan Smuts put it, "The taproot of militarism." Through it military "necessity" reaches into every home, educates every family and leaves an ambassador of military bigness and power in the form of an indoctrinated veteran. Rare indeed is the family and the veteran who do not acquire some militarism by association.

Livelihood and Prestige

Conscription also creates an army of persons in business, labor, education, and even in the church, whose livelihood and prestige depend upon a large peacetime military establishment. They have as much vested interest in conscription as the officers whose advancement depends upon it.

In our day these vested interests are world-wide in scope. It is the pressure of the American military, for example, which has imposed conscription on the reluctant people of Western Europe and which is seeking to introduce it in Germany and Japan. Thus the defeat of conscription in the United States would make it exceedingly difficult if not impossible for American generals to insist on British, French, German, and Japanese conscription against the known opposition of their people.

The ending of conscription in America is therefore an essential step on our part if our goal really is a disarmed world. Disarmament by agreement is possible only insofar as some significant step is taken in the direction of disarmament by example. Only international confidence bred by a step away from the arms race, might create the climate in which further steps might be taken.

It would be foolish of course to suggest that the ending of conscription would solve the world-wide power struggle or the revolutionary situation which undergirds it. Only a superior revolutionary program might be expected to do that.

Acquiescence in conscription, however, is decisive encouragement to a continuation of both militarism and the power struggle. This is clearly evident from President Eisenhower's January statement: "The calm planning for a call, the unquestioning acceptance of it, the smooth adjustment to a new way of life manifested by millions of our young men and their families, evidences the maturity of their attitude toward the problem of national security."

Aside from pointing out that maturity is not to be identified with resignation to compulsion, it is time to demonstrate that the "new way of life" proposed by the President is something we cannot tolerate. It cuts across the grain of efforts toward world security—the only security that makes sense in the atomic age.

Want More Facts?

See **CONSCRIPTION SOURCEBOOK**
(p. 32)

the Rockpile

(from prison #11)

the rock is hard
but the will of a prisoner is harder.

this rock will crumble
against the iron of my hammer—
break against the toughened hands
the streams of sweat
the aching muscle—
for the will of the prisoner is harder than rock.

the time is hard
but the will of a prisoner is harder
this time will crumble
against the years of my youth—
break against the free spirit
the hidden laughter
the secret hopes—
for the will of the prisoner is harder than time.

evil is hard
but the will of good men is harder
evil will crumble
against the unindicted conscience—
break the turned cheek
the second mile
the solidarity of friends—
for the will of good men is harder than evil.

—Fred Hildebrand

There

An historical sketch of how a Man gained the Trust of the Apaches

AT THE AGE of twenty-one John Clum was offered the job of Apache Indian Agent on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, where some of the restless Apaches recently had murdered one of the army officers stationed in their midst. Shortly after, the previous agent had sneaked away in the night, to ride frantically over the 200-mile road to Tucson to wire in his resignation. The Delegate from Arizona warned Clum that if he accepted the position not only would his life be endangered but also he would be met by strong antagonism from the press, the citizens and the military, which remained ever jealous of civilians divesting them of any of their powers over the Indians.

Clum took the job, however, after which he spent several weeks in Washington doing something most unusual for an Indian agent (or anybody else) at that time: he searched the records minutely for an explanation as to *why* the Apaches had become intractible. Having been taught to believe that his country could do no wrong, the further he read the more horrified he became.

He particularly pondered the official report made by the United States Board of Indian Commissioners to President Grant in 1871: "From the time of the Gadsden Purchase, when we came into possession of their country, until about ten years ago, the Apaches were the friends of the American.

That In *Every* Man

by Genevieve Walther

Much of the time since then the attempt to exterminate them has been carried on, at a cost of from three or four million dollars *per annum,* with no appreciable progress being made in accomplishing the extermination."

The more Clum familiarized himself with story after story of treacherous dealing on the part of our people, several of our military men stooping even to lure leaders close under a flag of truce. only to kill them in cold blood, the more convinced he became that his problem consisted in winning the Apaches' confidence. Their experiences with our race caused them to look at all Caucasians with the same deep distrust in which they were held by practically every white and Mexican inhabitant of the territory.

When Clum arrived at San Carlos, he found a group of bewildered and confused Indians, demoralized as a result of unaccustomed idleness and because for one and a half years they had lived under a constantly changing Indian policy, or else no policy at all, as the civil and military arms of the government carried on their squabbles and took turns governing the natives.

By means of the novel procedure of applying both intelligence and fairness to his tough assignment, Clum startled everyone, most of all the Indians. For he approached them as men, not as treacherous prisoners. He explained why he

had come to live with them and requested their assistance in managing local affairs, to the end that together they prove that never again need soldiers be stationed on the reservation.

Chief Justice

Some he appointed as policemen, as well as asking four or five chiefs to serve as associate justices of the court to be established with himself as chief justice. Apache policemen would henceforth arrest all offenders, bringing them before an Apache court, with Apaches as witnesses. If convicted, Apache judges would sentence them and deliver them into the custody of Apache guards. "This," wrote Clum, ". . . appealed to them strongly. . . . They would know what was being done, and why. By taking them into my confidence, I secured theirs. . . . Much affected, they told me that they had never before been given the credit for having the intelligence or the disposition to join in the direction of their affairs."

Within a month the new departments were functioning smoothly. Ignoring the noisy denunciations from the press and other sideline observers, Clum carried on. "I soon realized," he wrote, "that the Apaches were my real friends, and that their orderly management would be very simple, providing outside influences could be eliminated."

His view was proved on several occasions, especially when first one and then another of four Apaches reserves, one twice as large as his, were successfully consolidated with the San Carlos Agency. On these occasions Clum took along a few score of his best men to circulate among the other Indians and tell them how good things were at San Carlos—how they were governing themselves, how, for the first time, definite work had been provided, for which they were paid in script redeemable at the store.

By 1876 affairs were functioning so well that when the dreaded Chiricahua Apaches staged an outbreak from their reservation some sixty miles away and Clum reported to his charges that the terrified citizens of Arizona were hysterically visualizing a similar outbreak from San Carlos, the chiefs became so agitated that after discussion one of them announced: "We are good Indians, here at San Carlos. We are peaceful. We are happy. We will not join the Chiricahuas on the warpath. But we are happy to go on warpath *against* the Chiricahuas if it is the wish of Nantan-betunnykayeh."

Impressed Citizens

When, a few weeks later, Clum escorted fifty-four of his Arivaipa and Coyotero braves to Tucson, the impressed citizens bought them uniforms of white pants, red shirts and obsolete army hats. "Five years before, in 1871," wrote Clum, "six of these same citizens of Tucson had participated in the killing of 118 Arivaipa Apaches, killed them merely because they were Apaches." (He might have added that when the aroused Federal Government demanded that the perpetrators of this horrible Camp Grant Massacre be brought to justice, they were, only to be acquitted.) "Neither the Indians nor the citizens had changed

character during those five years, but they had reached a better understanding, each of the other."

This understanding probably never could have been attained had not a twenty-one-year-old youth remembered that if one holds true to his faith and digs deeper than appearances he can find a spark of goodness in every man. Unfortunately for Arizona and the Apaches, however, Clum's fine work was thwarted finally by a strong combination of antagonistic influences: three years after his arrival—and after the Apaches had proved themselves by helping govern themselves peacefully and by volunteering for scout duty against the few Apache renegades—pressure-ridden powers decreed that the army enter San Carlos once more. Clum resigned in protest; and shortly after began the final tragic phase of the gruesome Apache wars.

Faith In Man

All because fear-blinded men could not see Clum's proof of how the application of courage, plus an abiding faith in man, can win. Since understandable fear predominated, conditions grew swiftly worse, Lieutenant Brittan Davis reporting a few years later that at the approach of a white man hungry and frightened children would dart behind bushes or into wickiups (Indian huts of elliptical shape), with "everywhere the sullen, stolid, hopeless, suspicious faces of older Indians challenging you. You felt the challenge in your very marrow—that unspoken challenge to prove yourself anything else than one more liar and thief, differing but little from the procession of liars and thieves who had preceded you."

Changed Feelings

After a few months among them, with practically no other companionship, his feelings began to change. "That ill-defined impression that they were something a little better than animals but not quite human; something to be on your guard against; something to be eternally watched with suspicion and killed with no more compunction than one would kill a coyote; the feeling that there could be no possible ground upon which we could meet as man to man, passed away."

A few years earlier another great pioneer, Thomas Jeffords, had also possessed that rare ability to understand that honor and worth could be found among even the Apaches who were making life a torment for the citizens of Arizona. When he began working in the Tucson office of the pony express, he decided to reduce the high rate of casualties to riders coming through Apache country by pleading the case in person.

After learning the Apache language and customs from a Tucson Apache boy, he rode alone toward the camp of these merciless killers, confident that a display of courage and faith would protect him. He heralded his coming by periodic smoke signals as he had learned from his Apache teacher. Aware that he was being watched, he rode straight into Cochise's camp. Handing his horse's reigns and revolver to an old woman, he began his self-appointed task of persuading Cochise to order his men to discontinue killing mail riders. His

almost unparalleled courage and faith won out: and from then on the pony express riders came through unscathed. The acts of this one man had far-reaching implications; between Cochise and Jeffords sprang up a friendship so deep that they eventually comingled their blood in the Apache ritual that made them blood brothers.

The awful Cochise War, which had kept Arizona in hysteria for twelve long years, had begun because innocent members of the band of that previously friendly chieftan had been treacherously and unjustly hanged by a U.S. military officer. Throughout the ensuing war, officers had tried vainly to confer with Cochise, in whose hands lay sole power to bring about peace. But not until the great chieftan came once more to see in a white man something to trust, something to love even, did he agree to meet with General Howard and conclude a peace.

Today, as then, few there are who are capable of sufficiently releasing themselves from the fear that keeps those around them from remembering what lies beneath the hardest of human shells, what must be done to touch it and what can be accomplished once it is reached. But the formula remains the same today as when applied by Clum and Jeffords in the fear-filled days of early Arizona history.

Being a Russian or a Chinese—or an American—does not alter it.

"Not An Insurance Policy . . ."

Pacifism, like Christianity, is not an insurance policy, it is a way of life. Yet just as it is not immoral but wise to remember that, in a very real sense, the wages of sin are often disease or death, so also it is expedient, in the best sense of that word, to consider whether the insoluble political dilemmas in which we find ourselves today may not be the result of sinning against the laws not only of nature but also of God. How differently in fact would we behave as a nation if we really did believe in a God of love?

—KATHLEEN LONSDALE, in
IFOR News Letter, Sept. 1954

Food-for-China Letters Flood White House

Indications at the end of January were that the FOR-inaugurated campaign to send some of America's $6 billion worth of surplus food to the victims of floods in China was still growing in effectiveness.

Harold Stassen, director of the Foreign Operations Administration, wrote to each of the listed sponsors of the FOR campaign, listing five reasons why the plan to offer food to China is "impracticable." Subsequent letters to everyone who had written the White House on the subject repeated the Stassen five points and acknowledged that "thousands of letters" had been received on the subject.

Alfred Hassler, editor of FELLOWSHIP who has been directing the campaign for the FOR, questioned the validity of the Stassen arguments in a letter to the sponsors that was subsequently reproduced for wider distribution. (Copies sent on request.)

To the principal point, that the Peiping government had refused two offers of aid from the international League of Red Cross Societies, the Hassler letter observed that these offers had been made in July and August, in the earliest days after the floods while the Chinese still had not acknowledged that the floods had occurred. Mr. Hassler also reminded the sponsors that it had been the Red Cross societies who had been denied permission by the Chinese to investigate the germ-warfare charges, and that it was not unreasonable to suppose that the Chinese Communists might suspect political propaganda in a move by this group.

The Hassler letter also cited recent reports from "people we believe to be unimpeachable sources" in two Asian countries confirming the devastation and suffering caused by the floods. This was in comment on the Stassen claim that it was impossible to determine the extent of the damage.

Meanwhile, other groups and individuals continued to add their weight to the campaign. Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord wrote President Eisenhower urging that food be made available and offering his help in arousing public support for such a move. The Public Affairs Committee of the YWCA recommended similar action to the national executive committee of that organization, which was to meet after this issue of FELLOWSHIP went to press. And other smaller groups, local churches, college Christian associations, city and state Councils of Churches were urging their members to write to the White House.

"The FOR has started something here that is really having a national impact," wrote one sponsor.

F.O.R. Tour To Study P.R.-U.S. Tensions

Further details on the visit of 20 F.O.R. members to the island of Puerto Rico during Holy Week was announced by Field Secretary, Glenn Smiley. According to Smiley, who heads the tour, the purpose of the trip is to "learn and understand," rather than to "present a particular point of view."

Outlining the problems as mainly economic, social, and cultural, Smiley said that the slowness with which the United States has granted self-determination to Puerto Rico, coupled with the attendant suspicion and ill-will of many Puerto Ricans stresses the need for reconciliation.

The tour will visit projects, interview leaders of political parties, tradespeople and housewives. Alfred Hassler, Literature Secretary of the F.O.R. will record the trip in pictures as well as gather material for future articles.

Ohio F.O.R. Wins Support For Clothing Drive

Back in April, 1953, when the local Barnesville, Ohio, F.O.R. chapter came up with the idea of sponsoring a clothing drive, members didn't guess its impact on the community. Children and Students at Friends Boarding School, it turned out, weren't the only volunteers. The Rotary, Kiwanis, Farm Bureau, Grange, Ministerial Association, and other groups joined the bandwagon. The first drive netted 1,000 pounds of soap, sewing materials, children's clothing and some cash. Encouraged, a second project got underway the following February. This drive spread to outlying areas, with a bank accepting contributions in one town. After five sorting and packing sessions, 250 coats, 30 men's suits, and more cash were tallied. Recent reports show, however, that this year's campaign topped the mark. In addition to 1,000 pounds of children's clothing and other supplies, $2000 worth of food (sent through the Christian Rural Overseas Program) will be made available for relief.

Paul Sekiya To Address Fall Conference

Paul Sekiya, Executive Secretary of the Japanese F.O.R., is the first of several speakers to be lined up for the Fall F.O.R. Conference scheduled September 2-4 at Camp Alexander Mack, Milford, Indiana.

The Conference commitment is only part of the itinerary planned for Sekiya when he lands in the United States around April 13 for a lengthy speaking tour of the States. Although he is being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, he will address F.O.R. audiences—probably in the South, Far West, and Midwest.

An ex-army man, civil servant, professor at St. John's University (China), and civilian employee of the Japanese Navy: Sekiya became active in the Friends Movement and the F.O.R. after working for two years in relief activities for Japanese nationals in Shanghai after World War II. He joined the Japanese F.O.R. in 1948, and has been its Executive Secretary since 1950. By that time, he had been elected to the Board of Trustees for the Friends Girls School. He also established a kindergarten in the Neighborhood Center at Setagaya and became a member of the Advisory Committee for the work of the A.F.S.C.

National Council of Churches Backs Aid For Ex-Prisoners

A clear call for action among church groups to help restore former prisoners to an equal status in society was echoed by the National Council of Churches in its organization of a Committee on the Churches and the Problems of Parolees, Probationers, and Ex-Offenders.

The move followed a report by Reverend Paul Tilden, who as head of the NCCC special chaplaincy program for institutions, had visited scores of prisons, and given aid to many ex-convicts who had turned to him for guidance. His statements to church representatives charged repeatedly that prejudice and discrimination forced many former inmates to become "repeaters" and wastrels. Urging adoption of a plan whereby citizen volunteers under professional supervision, would act as sponsors for special problems, Reverend Tilden cited statistics to prove that in countries where this system was widespread—less than five offenders in a hundred ever returned to prison. The United States, on the other hand, added Tilden, has the highest percentage of "repeaters" on record.

He also asked the committee to consider practical study courses in which local church councils could learn prison and parole practices in the United States. Scoring New York laws as particularly "formidable and fantastic," he noted that a former N.Y. doctor, lawyer, dentist, nurse, or veterinarian cannot practice his profession again, cannot teach, enter civil service, or sweep the subway.

Chairman of the new committee is Robert Hannum, director of the Vocational Placement Bureau, Osborne Association in New York.

Parole Board Strips COs Conscience Clause Rights

The U.S. Parole Board turned its back on the clock and turned down all requests to insert a conscience clause in parole agreements involving COs according to Lyle Tatum, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

In a lengthy memorandum addressed to the Board, Tatum pointed out that the clause: was accepted on probation agreements and passport examinations by some government agencies, operated successfully in the past without embarrassing the Board, had widespread public and church support, was an expression of U.S. respect for their rights of conscience.

Straws in the wind also indicate that the paroles are looked upon with less favor than before, adds Tatum. Although the New Board, composed of six appointees of the Republican Administration, still grants paroles; "in at least four cases which have come to our attention lately, the Board has set parole dates far in advance, or denied parole on the first application in order that a CO serve one year in prison before release."

The Central Committee is pushing a move to get more letters requesting favorable consideration of parole applicants to the Board. A note of caution was inserted in this regard by Tatum. The board resents being asked by more than one CO organization to go into cases of parole denial, he warned.

Methodist Women Oppose "UMT" In Any Form

"UMT by an other name is still UMT. There are grave questions in the minds of many Americans when they face a plan which would bring virtually every 17-year old male under the control of the military for from six to ten of his most formative years." Thus the Methodist Women's Division of Christian Service tallied its opposition to universal military training.

The resolution adopted at its annual meeting held at Cincinnati also said: "In the light of past consistent opposition to peacetime conscription as undesirable and contrary to American tradition, it is recommended that the Women's Division again reaffirm its opposition to UMT in any form, including the contemplated plan which will be presented to the 84th Congress. It is further recommended that Methodist women acquaint themselves with the above plan and make their views known to their Senators and Representatives."

British F.O.R. Leaders Get Set To Tour U.S.

John and Elnora Ferguson, a dynamic British couple who have crammed teaching, lectures, social welfare work, and F.O.R. activities into their young lives will begin an extensive tour of the states this month.

Their combined and separate engagements will cover such diverse topics as Christian pacifism, political applications of peacemaking, Christianity and the H-bomb, the failure in Korea, and the "meaning of love." Although still tentative, the Fergusons' itineraries will take them first to the Middle Atlantic and Southern Great Lakes area and to parts of the West and Middlewest. They wind up their tour April 29 with speeches and meetings in New England.

John Ferguson, who received first class honors in classics and won the 1951 Keye Prize for a theological dissertation, has preached widely in churches of all denominations. A CO in the Rescue Service of the London Civil Defense during World War II, he has been active in the F.O.R. since college days. He is now chairman of the British F.O.R., a member of the Executive Committee of the British United Nations Association, and chairman of its subcommittee on refugees.

Mrs. Ferguson, a well versed economist, is a Cambridge graduate and has a diploma in social studies from the London School of Economics. A seasoned public lecturer, she was principal speaker at the British North East Congregational Women's Conference in 1953 and has preached and conducted services at Congregational and Methodist Churches.

British Fellowship Ready For Easter Conference

"Partners in Peacemaking," a youth holiday conference sponsored by the British F.O.R., is scheduled for Easter at The Mount, Haverhill in Suffolk.

So far, according to reports from F.O.R. headquarters, topics will consider such questions as: Can we ensure that science is used for good? Is the individual helpless—or hopeless? Is world hunger inevitable? Can the Church unite the world?

Christmas Amnesty Denied to COs

In a letter addressed to Lewis Hoskins, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, the U.S. Government upheld the right to deny Christmas amnesty to COs. Calling attention to those internal and external enemies which threatened the country's rights and liberties, the letter explained, "Against this national and international background, there is strong feeling that it would be both inconsistent and unwise for our Government, at this time, to grant blanket pardons to men who in the Amnesty Board's words have 'set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the Nation.'"

NSBRO Launches $30,000 Budget Appeal

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors is wrestling grimly with a $30,000 budget according to its Executive Secretary, A. Stauffer Curry. In a statement issued to subscribers to the Board's *Reporter* magazine, Curry estimated that unless this figure is maintained during the next 12 months, the Board may be forced to curtail some of its services.

NSBRO serves COs through classification assistance, 1-W statistics, legal advice, and legislation information. Estimates show that to date over 5,000 COs, representing 65 different religious denominations, serve in U.S. and foreign civilian projects. Says Curry: "We have had lengthy correspondence with thousands. We also have tried to represent faithfully to governmental groups the concerns of the constituent groups and individual COs. We shall continue to cover all developments and news of government regulations, the 1-W work program, classification and assignment problems, and other data vitally concerning men with conscientious scruples."

Outside of donations from church groups and other agencies, the Board must meet its budget through individuals. All contributions should be sent to: NSRB, 1105 K St. N.W., Washington D.C.

Michigan FOR Plans Peace Petition Drive

The Michigan F.O.R. has launched an all out campaign to get sponsors and signers for a peace petition to President Eisenhower.

This move followed the organization's unanimous endorsement of a nation-wide drive to scrape up millions of signatures. Although the project is still in its initial stages, Emily Greene Balch, Honorary International President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and a Nobel Peace Prize Winner, will be a principal sponsor.

The petition asks the President to (1) negotiate with enemies according to the Golden Rule (2) abolish weapons of mass extermination as an initial step towards international disarmament (3) reconcile conflicts peaceably through the United Nations.

Officers of the Ad Hoc Peace Committee are Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Reverend John Safran, and Rebecca Shelley. Correspondence should be sent to 23 East Adams Ave., Detroit, Michigan.

Jottings

With its January issue, *The Bulletin of the Research Exchange on the Prevention of War* appeared in printed form for the first time. Topics discussed include: "Psychological literature on the prevention of war," by Dr. Joseph Cooper of San Jose State College and "Sources of International Tensions," by Dr. Ely Chertock of U.C.L.A. Write Dr. James Russell, Centenary Junior College, Hackettstown, N. J., for sample copies and subscriptions. Dr. Arthur Gladstone of Swarthmore College edits the *Bulletin.*

Need material on the history of the F.O.R.? Percy Bartlett found important material destroyed in the London office during the Blitz among records and papers deposited at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Last summer the Collection received A. J. Muste's papers. These are being processed and will form a rich source of information for future research students of the peace movement.

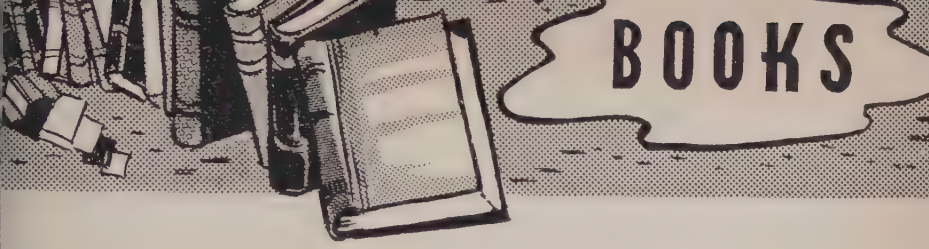
Stanley U. Robinson, Jr. of Columbus, Ohio, wishes to assure friends and clients that he is not supplementing his income by doing artwork for the F.O.R. It seems that some confusion occurred when Stan U's friends received F.O.R. Christmas cards created by Fellowship's artist, Stanley Robinson. They thought that Stanley U. was forced to give up his law practice because he was instrumental in moving an interracial family into a "white" neighborhood. Stanley U. is still practicing.

The American Friends Service Committee will sponsor a program of conferences for young diplomats in Asia. Aim of the conferences, according to Quaker officials, is to provide "an atmosphere in which diplomats share problems frankly as individuals rather than as national representatives." Heading the program is Rhoads Murphey, Episcopal layman and geographer of the University of Washington, and Lloyd Bailey, Director of the U.S. Committee for United Nations Day.

The Mennonite Central Committee tallied its 1954 relief and services scoreboard and discovered that altogether $1,890,000 in cash and material aid had been used to help 200,000 people in 24 countries. Overseas relief supplies tipped the scales at 1,130 tons valued at $1,165,000. The Committee also started a relief and rehabilitation service in Viet Nam, established a farm for delinquent boys in Ontario, and opened a psychiatric center at Newton, Kansas.

Sorry

Phillips Moulton, former pastor of the Park Slope Methodist Church, Brooklyn, is not chaplain of Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, as reported in the January issue of FELLOWSHIP, p. 27, but teaches religion and philosophy at Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa.



Civil Liberty

An Almanac of Liberty, by William O. Douglas. Doubleday, 1954. 409 pp. inc. index. $5.50.

The 366 essays that make up Justice Douglas' newest book must come close to being the richest source of materials on civil liberties extant, and add immeasurably to the already lustrous reputation of this literate jurist. The savor of the book cannot be better suggested than by two brief quotations that will be of particular interest to pacifists.

Speaking of the judge who presided over the trial of William Penn (see FELLOWSHIP, March 1954) and who, faced by a recalcitrant jury, expressed the wish for something like the Spanish Inquisition, Douglas writes:

> "He took a short cut to make this unpopular minority feel the displeasure of the government and to seek revenge on them for not conforming. Short cuts are always tempting when one feels his cause is just. Short cuts, however, are dangerous. If they can be taken against one person or group, they can be taken against another. . . . Experience shows that it is the William Penns of the world, not the criminals, who suffer most when the procedural safeguards for fair trials are relaxed."

Later, writing of the Supreme Court decision in 1940 holding that a child in school could be compelled to salute the flag (overruled three years later), Douglas remarks that Justice Harlan F. Stone was the only dissenter, and remarks:

> "Perhaps Stone's tolerance of the religious scruples of an unpopular minority went back to World War I, when he served on a board of inquiry to review cases of conscientious objectors who had refused to perform military service. I knew from what he told me that it was for him a moving experience. Perhaps he learned from the quiet Quakers, or from those who are more impassioned, the full meaning of religious freedom. Perhaps he saw in the deep, burning eyes of some of the 2,000 drafted men whom he interviewed the message that there are some who will die rather than bear false witness to their religious beliefs."

—A. H.

Political Villains

American Demagogues, by Reinhard H. Luthin. Beacon Press, 1954, 319 pp. plus notes and index. $5.

Fear, the Accuser, by Dan Gillmor. Abelard-Schuman, 1954. 294 pp. plus notes and index. $3.

Both of these books contain material valuable to the American concerned with the inroads of demagoguery on his traditional freedoms, but neither of them contributes much to a deeper understanding of either the basic mo-

tivations of the demagogue or the climate of public emotions out of which he erupts.

Dr. Luthin has recounted with a sort of gleeful horror the antics of ten of the country's better-known political villains, from the now almost-forgotten Big Bill Thompson of Chicago and the Fergusons of Texas to such later phenomena as Senator McCarthy and Vito Marcantonio. His story is all surface stuff, however—the political trickery, the baby-kissing, the rabble-rousing—at about the pitch and tempo of a newspaper columnist. It makes fascinating reading in the same way that the average detective story does, but only very occasionally attempts any insights into the how and the why of such men and their rise to power.

Dan Gillmor has done something of the same in accumulating data about a good many of the more horrid examples of demagoguery of various Congressional investigating committee. The result is a handy thing to have on your bookshelf for reference when you get into an argument on the subject. It is also a purely surface, cops-and-robbers discussion, however, and suffers from the reader's suspicion that the author's process of selection was something less than completely objective. One especially interesting chapter is enlightening as to the legal difficulties confronting the witness summoned before one of these committees, and some of the considerations that must enter into the decision whether to plead the protection of the Fifth Amendment. This, as you probably know, is a somewhat less simple dilemma than many of our more articulate commentators suggest.

—A. H.

Religion and Politics

Against the Stream, by Karl Barth: Philosophical Library, New York. 250 pp.; $3.75.

The sub-title of this book, *Shorter Post-War Writings, 1946-52* suggests the nature of its contents. There is first a general statement of might be called the relation between religion and politics about 50 pages long entitled *The Christian Community and the Civil Community*. The middle section of the book, well over 100 pages in length, contains transcripts of the addresses Barth made on journeys to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Germany after the war and of the famous "Open Letter," from Emil Brunner to Karl Barth and the latter's reply. This most interesting part of the book, and pretty much indispensable for those who want to understand Christian reflection in Europe and East-West relations, sets for Barth's attitude toward communism for which his old friend and colleague Brunner took him sharply to task. The closing section contains a number of essays or addresses on more strictly theological or exegetical themes, a good deal of which I found nearly as dry as the "theology" I was taught in New Brunswick Seminary nearly fifty years ago, but don't let this remark mislead any one as to the vital and lively character of the rest of the book!

While at some points Barth seems to set forth so complete a separation between the sphere and function of the Church and the sphere and function of the State as is hard for me to accept, he is explicit and firm about one thing, namely that a "Christian decision to be indifferent" to political life and action, "a non-political Christianity" is im-

possible. "It is a bad sign," he says at another point, "when Christians are frightened by 'political' sermons—as if Christian preaching could be anything but political." "Furthermore, the Church must see to it that it does not make a habit of coming on the scene too late" and making its pronouncements on economic and political matters "when its opinions no longer involve any risk and can no longer exert any particular influence!"

Since Barth is thought of as an opponent of pacifism but has recently given indications of being close to agreement with pacifists at some points, it is worth noting his rejection of Bismarckian power politics ("in spite of the *Daily Bible Readings* on his bedside table"). Christian political theory, Barth asserts, "leads as in the very opposite direction and he quotes: 'All that draw the sword shall perish by the sword.'" In the same context, he says the Church cannot stand for "peace at any price." But "may the Church," nevertheless, "show her inventiveness in the search for other solutions before she joins in the call for violence! The perfection of the Father in heaven . . . demands the earthly perfection of a peace policy which really does extend to the limits of the humanly possible."

The subject at issue in the Brunner-Barth exchange, namely the Christian and politically sound attitude for Christians to take toward communism, is one that cannot be dealt with adequately in a FELLOWSHIP-size review. Brunner's position is essentially that of Reinhold Niebuhr to whom he refers as having "joined the absolute opponents of communism, particularly since seeing the monster at close quarters in Berlin." This includes the need of building up military power of the West to "deter" Russia, and so on. Brunner pays his respects to Hromadka's view that communism as represented in the Communist States "is a historical necessity." Brunner characterizes this "as an utterly dangerous aberration of which a Protestant theologian ought to be thoroughly ashamed."

There are aspects of Barth's thought about the Communist phenomenon which I cannot accept but in being opposed to war on behalf of either Russian or American imperialism I think his position is more nearly Christian and politically sound. "As Christians," he contends, the Russian-American conflict "is not our concern at all. It is not a genuine, not a necessary, not an interesting conflict. It is a mere power-conflict. We can only warn against the still greater crime of wanting to decide the issue in a third world war."

—A. J.M.

BELLRINGERS

Colonialism and The United Nations, Proposals for Charter Amendments. A Toward Freedom Pamphlet, 343 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 15 pp., 25c.

Does the present United Nations Charter provide adequately for the peaceful transition of colonies to self-government or independence? Towards Freedom, Inc. gives its ideas on what amendments are needed to change existing inequalities. This is a handy midget sized pamphlet with thought provoking proposals.

World Government in Maximum Terms, by Edith Wynner. Fedonat Press, Afton, New York, 1954. 84 pp., paper covers, $2.00.

A world federalist speaks up on United Nations Charter revision. Dedicated to the "technologically unemployed . . . war propagandists . . . and other future extinct species of man," this book tells in 5 short, crisp chapters, the crucial decisions on which world organization must take place. Briefly, it calls for a world convention elected by popular referendum which would draft a new Constitution containing veto-free conditions of ratification. Edith Wynner has the choice talent of writing a scholarly reference book with dry humor, tact, and fervent idealism.

A Way of Survival, by Arthur W. Munk. Bookman Associates, Inc., New York, 1954. 164 pp., $3.00.

In a moving and eloquent plea for "total mobilization for peace," Dr. Arthur W. Munk, F.O.R. member, and Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Albion College, describes his eight point program for preserving civilization from atomic destruction. Calling for a world peace crusade, the repudiation of war, a vast United Nations assistance program, recall of the armies of occupation, atomic control, and a rational plan of disarmament; this is a timely guide in which to view and weigh the march of international events—extremely persuasive reading for anyone who is looking for an answer to the problem of war and peace that bridges the gap between ideals and stern realities.

A Sense of Living, by Mildred Tonge. Pendle Hill Pamphlet No. 79, Wallingford, Pa. 32 pp., 35c.

In this pamphlet of too few pages, Mildred Tonge of the Pendle Hill faculty introduces us to some techniques for getting self-conscious adults who even in their wildest dreams do not imagine themselves competent with brush or pen (or typewriter) relaxed and confident enough to experiment with the creative arts. Each of us, says the author, has that of the artist—or the child—within us which, when freed for expression, expresses itself uniquely, thus giving us (1) clues to our personal identity, and (2) a feeling of being "part of the tide of human life." These clues and this feeling combine to create a joyous "sense of living."

This latest of Pendle Hill pamphlets, all excellent almost without exception, is, in fact, more engagingly written than most.

—Collette Schlatter

Apologies

for not naming P. D. Tandon as editor of *Vinoba Bhave*: The Man and His Mission, reviewed in January Fellowship, p. 28. Price per copy, Rs. 2/8 (about 55 c).

Don't forget the homeless people of Korea.

HOUSES FOR KOREA

Floyd Schmoe, Director
580 Minnesota
San Jose, California

An Amount of Horror

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As a reader who also happens to be Jewish, I have been following your discussion on whether it is right to "lie to save a life" with a particular amount of horror.

I though you folks believed in humanitarianism and non-violence. Now I understand how it is that most of the greatest crimes in history—including the countless massacres of Jews—have been committed out of the highest—if perverted—principles. Even the gentle Torquamada said he only wanted to save the Jews' souls when he instituted the Spanish inquisition.

What I would like to know now is: Is there any of your readers whom I could depend upon to help me escape if I ever find myself persecuted in this country?

JACK BIK
San Bruno, Cal.

China, Petitions, Etc.

To the Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . One thing I must say is that the people, the churches, and the governments of Canada and the U.S.A. have been committing a great sin for years past—hoarding their surplus food while millions of our fellowmen are starving all over the world. What an easy way it would be for us to fight Communism! . . .

ALEX MCDERMID
Wreck Cove, Nova Scotia

. . . I have a small suggestion in the use of grain bags. Many of the bags will be going to city dwellers who may forget to use them if they do not happen to have some rice, which is about the only grain a city dweller ever sees. I think a written suggestion that such things as dry breakfast cereal, cracker meal, beans, etc., could be placed in the bag, would tend to encourage prompt action. . . .

A. DALE SCHUBERT
Washington, D. C.

. . . I thought you might be interested to hear that your leaflets were given out at both the Race Street Forum and Frankford Friends Forum. Many of the Frankford Forum and Frankford Meeting people took bags to mail. . . . Last Sunday a resolution was adopted by the Frankford Forum, a copy of which was sent to the President.

EMILY C. P. LONGSTRETH
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

. . . As I see it, there is only one way for the F.O.R. to act. . . . Take a courageous Christlike stand for recognition of China. . . . Then ask the Chinese what they would accept as a gift from us—in case resumption of trade is insufficient. Surely such action is quite consistent with F.O.R. principles and would besides give balance to our program.

PAUL JOHNSON ALLURED
Lansing, Mich.

Shuddering

To the Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As I have just finished reading Trocmé's "The Law Itself Was A Lie," I am still shuddering. What a monster I must seem to be! . . . I am, needless to say, greatly saddened that quotation marks were put around something that I didn't say directly. FELLOWSHIP, it would seem, is making a grievious error in doing such a thing . . . my previous letter to FELLOWSHIP attempted to construct an absolute truth ethic from Pierre Ceresole's:

"God is truth first of all, even before love, because in the long run love based on a lie, though it be a pious one, has to be paid for dearly by breakdown, and disaster. Truth-first-bitter pill, hard to swallow at times, but the only universal and infallible remedy."

From that I tried to make absolutes —In the past few months more than ever I've been realising that this sort of thing doesn't exactly work out the way it so nicely seemed to many months ago. . . .

NOEL BURLESON
Kansas City, Mo.

—We pulled a real boner and herewith send sincere apologies. What happened was that Trocmé credited this particular quote to the name *above* the letter instead of the name at the *end*. In other words, the quotation in question came from a letter written by Earl Martin Smith which appeared immediately after Noel Burleson's in the October issue—Ed.

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